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ABSTRACT

Two important factors in the development of the Caribbean University are the cultural domination of the metropolitan countries to which they were attached, and the sharp divergence, in respect to financing, between the American model in Puerto Rico on the one hand and the British model in the University of the West Indies on the other. Against this background, some considerations that the Caribbean governments must face in the development of their university are: the level of entry into higher education; establishment of some form of postsecondary education; the development of new aptitude tests, reconsideration of faculty work loads; and the expansion of graduate facilities. Also of importance are the problems of university autonomy, the brain drain, dissent, and Caribbean studies. (Author/KE)

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The University in the Caribbean in the late xxth century (1980-1999)

by
Dr. Eric Williams

This study prepared by Dr. Eric Williams, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago and member of the governing board of the University of the West Indies, was prepared for *The Role of the University in the late Twentieth Century* Editors: Dr. Michael Stephens and Dr. Gordon W. Roderick and published by David and Charles, Newton Abbott, Devon, England, 1974. For this reprint we have used the version published by the PNM Publishing Company, Port of Spain Trinidad. We are grateful to the author for Permission to publish extensively from this important study. Due to our limitations of space three introductory pages, one table, and three other pages as indicated have been omitted.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF CARIBBEAN UNIVERSITIES(1)

The Caribbean Universities reflect their political heritage with its cultural dependence on the one hand and natures's dispensation on the other.

Two points may be noted about the Caribbean University developments. The first is the cultural domination of the metropolitan countries to which they were attached, reflecting the basic metropolitan philosophy of colonialism as serving primarily for the transmission of western culture and learning and the subordination of indigenous values, customs and languages. This was the essence of the infamous minute of Lord Macaulay in respect of India and dominated the Indian Universities subsequently established by the British. From India the British exported the same policy to Australia, New Zealand, Northern Ireland and colonial Africa.

Almost incredibly, notwithstanding the voluminous evidence of the unwisdom of this policy especially in India, the Asquith Commission and its West African and West Indian subsidiaries appointed after World War II to consider the question of University developments in those colonial areas, opted for the imitation of British residential universities affiliated to London University for examination purposes, and therefore cribb'd cabin'd and confin'd within the London curriculum — that is to say, compulsory Latin, and Anglo

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Saxon and Middle English in the English Literature curriculum (2). A mere 14 years after the inauguration of the University of the West Indies in 1948, independence came to the Commonwealth Caribbean in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The absurdity of the non-independent colonial ties to the apron string of a metropolitan mother was apparent even to the most dyed in the wool imperialist, and the Trinidad and Tobago five year old campaign against affiliation resulted in the independence of the University of the West Indies in 1962.

In similar fashion, the establishment of the University of Puerto Rico in 1903 was an integral part of the policy of Americanisation which the first Commissioner of Education (American) thus expressed in his first annual report in 1901: "The spirit of American institutions and the ideals of the American people, strange as they seem to some in Porto Rico, must be the only spirit and the only ideals incorporated in the school system of Porto Rico". This meant first and foremost, the compulsory study of English and the teaching of Spanish as a special subject — it took the Puerto Ricans several years to remove this millstone from around their necks. (3) The Puerto Ricans themselves, however, under the stimulus of Muñoz Marin's Commonwealth of Puerto Rico as a free State in association with the United States of America. have expanded the State University of Puerto Rico into a typical American "multiversity", indistinguishable in any of its fundamental aspects and operations from any of its counterparts on the mainland.

It is pertinent here to recall also the attempt of the United States Government, when it established a protectorate over Haiti in 1915, to abolish the French literary structure and system of education and substitute the American pattern, with its emphasis on agriculture. The attempt was a total failure and contributed powerfully to the confusion then prevailing in Haiti.

The French, as is well known, have been even more assimilationist in their colonial policy than the Americans or the British. They showed this particularly in Senegal in respect of the University of Dakar before Senegal achieved its independence. If Senegal, on independence, officially reques-

ted that Dakar be regarded as the 18th University of France, to the point of having a French Rector and many expatriates on its staff, it is unlikely that one will see in the university developments now under way in the assimilated Overseas Departments of the Caribbean any deviation from French centralization and French uniformity.

The second important characteristic of these Caribbean university developments is the sharp divergence, in respect of financing, between the American model in Puerto Rico on the one hand and the British model in the University of the West Indies on the other. Federal funds on a large scale have been and continue to be available to the University of Puerto Rico. This began in 1908 when the University of Puerto Rico became a Land Grant College — which meant not only the traditional American intellectual emphasis on agriculture, engineering, home economics, adult education and the variety of utilitarian subjects despised (until recently) by the British tradition, but even the inclusion of military barracks and training in the core of the campus. In 1931, with the application to Puerto Rico of pertinent American laws, Federal funds became available for the development of agricultural extension services and the agricultural experiment station. In 1935, under the auspices of another American law, Federal funds were made available for research at the University of Puerto Rico—with priority to research in tropical medicine and sanitation as well as in agriculture. Federal assistance can also be discerned in such new programmes as nuclear technology, radiological physics, and advanced science training. And of course, the American financing of veteran programmes applies to Puerto Rico, whose population, as American citizens, is subject to the American draft.

The purely Puerto Rican contributions to university expansion cannot be divorced from the political relationship with the United States developed by Muñoz Marín, under which Puerto Rico (not being a State) was exempt from Federal income tax but entitled to the return of Federal excise taxes on its rum, while its inclusion in the American customs and monetary union enabled it to attract an enormous number of industries, under special incentives, to Puerto Rico, whose

surplus population can migrate without hindrance to the United States. (4)

As a Land Grant College, the College of the Virgin Islands is also eligible for Federal funds. Its endowment as a Land Grant College was $3m US, equalling in 1971-1972 an operating budget provided from legislative appropriation in the Virgin Islands, and the sums raised by donations from major firms operating in the islands and the Rockefeller family. Its St. Thomas campus is composed in part of the former United State Marine Corps Air facility transferred to the College by the United States Government in 1964. The College conducts marine research projects for the United States Bureau of Sports, Fisheries and Wild Life and the United States Bureau of Commercial Fisheries.(5)

By way of contrast the independent University of the West Indies is today financed almost entirely by the Caribbean Governments, on the basis of contributions to capital costs made by the British Governments. The West Indian investment in its University through Governments is shown in the following figures in West Indian dollars for the period 1947-1972:

Capital Cost — $56.9m of which $30m from the British Government and $20m from West Indian Governments.

Recurrent Cost — $184m of which $167m from West Indian Governments and $12m from British Government.

Total Cost — $241m of which $197m from West Indian Governments (over 80 per cent) and $42m from British Government (less than 20 per cent).

West Indian contributions are dominated by Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. Jamaica has contributed $68.6m recurrent and $2.3m capital — a total of $71m or nearly 30 per cent of the total. Trinidad and Tobago has contributed $59.7m recurrent and $12.7m capital-a total of $72.4m or 30 per cent. In respect of recurrent contributions alone, Jamaica has

contributed nearly two-fifths and Trinidad and Tobago nearly one-third.

Contributions from other Governments (Canada), foundations, (such as Rockefeller, Ford, Nuffield), oil companies, Friends of the University, and other donors totalled £600,000 to 1969 in capital funds and less than $5m in recurrent contributions. (6)

The University of Guyana started functioning from its own campus in 1969. Capital grants from the Government of Guyana between 1968 and 1972 were approximately $1m; British technical assistance contributed £90,000, Canadian technical assistance $1000,000 Can, and the University of Guyana Appeal Fund brougnt in $1/4m. With respect to the recurrent expeditures during this period, the Government's subvention amounted to $4.35m as compared with $1/4 from "external aid" and $170.000 from the Carnegie Foundation.(7)

It is reasonable to assume that French and Dutch contributions to university developments in their own spheres of influence in the Caribbean form a part of the assistance made available to those territories under the European Development Fund of the European Economic Community. It is also not unreasonable to assume that the considerable financial assistance reported as having been made available to Cuba from the Soviet Union has facilitated university expansion in Cuba. By way of contrast, university developments in the Dominican Republic and Haiti seem to depend on contributions from those Governments.

Thus the main line university development in the Caribbean will probably take in the last two decades of the century is quite clear; the Governments, paying the piper, will more and more call the tune. French and Dutch developments will be subject to considerable metropolitan influence.

UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

This raises the whole question of "university autonomy".

This must be seen in its proper international perspective. The State controls the State University in the United States; one need only point to Governor Reagan in the University of California. In France and Holland the University is almost an arm of the civil service in the European tradition; the French University professor is appointed by the Ministry of Education from a list of candidates in the Ministry's files. Universities are subject to increasing direction from Provincial Governments in Canada. There is increasing direct control by the University Grants Committee in Britain; as well, the Comptroller-General has power to inspect university accounts. The British Governments consistently interfered in the most intimate university matters in colonial India and Africa, and this tradition has been handed down to the State governments in India and to the independent Governments in Africa.

The British did not include university autonomy when they exported their universities to India and Africa. The essence of the university system developed by the British in India was that the Governor General, or in the Provinces the Governor, was *ex officio* Chancellor, who appointed the Vice Chancellor and most of the professors, and who reserved the right to approve university byelaws and regulations. Whether local colleges were to be affiliated to the universities or not was a matter for the Government of India to decide. In one extreme case the Government of India sought to write into the constitution of a State University a provision for the Government's right to suspend the university's constitution. As stated by one of the Governors-General, the Government was to have the power of direct control and interference in all the affairs of the university with reference to the University of Calcutta.

In respect of proposals for the establishment of the communal universities at Aligarh and Beneres, the Secretary of State insisted not only on approval by the Governor General of changes in the statutes, but that grants-in-aid were conditional upon Government inspection and the submission of annual accounts to the Department of Education. The 1919 Commission on the University of Calcutta described Indian

universities as "among the most completely governmental universities in the world.

This was not, as it may seem at first sight vulgar racialism, it was simply more vulgar colonialism. Britain did not lay the foundations for a tradition of academic autonomy in its colonies. The Government was free to interfere in the University of Sydney; half the Council of the University of the Cape of Good Hope was perpetually nominated by the Government; in the Queen's University in Ireland the vast majority of the members of the Senate were appointed for life by the Crown, and in 1851 a professor was formally dismissed by the Crown for absenteeism. The colonial tradition was transplanted to colonial Africa. As late as 1958 the British Government in Tanganyika tried to dictate to Makerere who should speak and on what topic they should speak at a seminar organised by the University which included American participants.(8)

Thus was the stage set for conflicts between foreign-inspired universities and nationalist governments. When Nkrumah interfered with university autonomy in Ghana, going so far as to abolish the constitution of the University of Ghana and substitute one dictated by the Government (but he sought also to remove the right to leave passages to the United Kingdom), there was an outcry against him. In fact, in transferring agriculture and education to other colleges, in appointing himself Chancellor, in seeking to abolish English as a compulsory subject in a West African School Certificate, in making personal appointments to so-called "special professorships", and in prescribing that the goal of the university should be the furtherance of African Unity, Nkrumah was merely treading in the footsteps of British Governors-General in India.

In **Nigeria**, the Council of Ibadan University makes an annual report to the Prime Minister which is laid before Parliament, while at Nsukka five of the seven Council members in 1961 were *ex officio* members appointed by the Government of the then Eastern Region of Nigeria on the ground clearly stated by Azikiwe, that power should reside with a body the majority of whose members are appointed by

the State which is responsible to the electorate. As one of Nigeria's leading educators put the issue in the immediate past colonial setting: "It is not easy to argue that academic freedom is necessary in order to train the professional manpower required by Nigerian society ... at present it is merely one of the embellishments attached in its country of origin to an imported product".(9)

Dr. Corry, for so long Principal of Queen's University in Ontario, Canada, in his presidential address on "The University and the Canadian Community" to the Association of University and Colleges of Canada in Vancouver, October 1965, warned that the university no longer belonged to the private sector and was no longer a matter of private enterprise, and should come to terms with the governments which finance it; "votes will tell in the long run; if not with present governments, then with those that succeed them". (10)

A commission appointed by the Canadian Association of University Teachers is even more specific: "the financial accounts of universities should be made public, and the provincial governments should have the right of post-audit inspection ... they should be submitted to the legislature and made subject to potential examination by its committee on public accounts".(11)

In the Caribbean, as far as Cuba is concerned, Castro's government has already laid down the law. Education in general, and the university in particular, is to be used to build the new society, to develop the "socialist man", without racial prejudices, doing away with money, correcting the aversions to manual labor and the relegation of women to the home. The Old Liberal Arts University was to be transformed into a technologically-oriented institution. The great obstacle was university autonomy. This therefore, was abolished. As a former Rector of the University of Havana stated in 1966: "In countries like Cuba, where the people are running the country through their government machine, university autonomy is really something that is quite inconsistent. The university is a part of the State ... it is under the Ministry of Education, which determines its general policy and which correctly fits the university into overall educational plans".(12)

The University of the West Indies has generally had to cut its cloth to conform with the priorities of its contributing governments, and this can quite confidently be expected to be intensified in the last two decades of this century. The newly independent government, or the governments moving towards independence, have inherited educational deficiencies which have been most pronounced at the primary and secondary school level, with a tradition of State contribution to an effort left in large part to the Churches. In Trinidad and Tobago, for example, first priority was given to the secondary school, and secondary education was declared free in 1960 (Jamaica has recently followed suit). As there were only two Government secondary schools then in existence together with about one dozen denominational schools, mostly Catholic, the first emphasis necessarily had to be placed on the construction of secondary schools and the introduction of the much maligned common Entrance Examination to provide at least a more objective test of elegibility on grounds of merit rather than on grounds of colour, or race, or parental influence, or religious affiliation.

With the diversification of the secondary system now in full swing to include the junior secondary school and the vocational school as well as the comprehensive school, attention is now being given on a fundamental scale going beyond patchwork and minor repairs to the primary school as the most urgent educational priority in Trinidad and Tobago, repeatedly indicated over the past year by parental protest and demonstrations. Where Trinidad and Tobago contributed $83.9 million to the University between 1947 and 1973, it spent $431m on primary schools, of which $18m was capital expenditure, and $168.2m on secondary, of which $48.1m was capital expenditure. The primary school population in 1973 is 226,675, and the public .secondary population 30,989, as compared with the total Caribbean university enrolment of 5,678. Any proposal, therefore, to expand the University or to increase staff emoluments must necessarily be rigidly scrutinised by the government in a situation where of the 471 primary schools, 18 need to be demolished and 141 need urgent major repairs, the estimated cost of each new 400-place school being $200,000.

It is against this background that the Heads of Governments of the Caribbean territories in 1972 agreed to collaborate with the University in a manpower survey of the area and to reappraise the residential system. The West Indian territories cannot call on wealthy foundations for assistance, and the entire tradition of Caribbean history has been an anti-intellectual one almost entirely devoid of the philanthropic donations which built up the University of Chicago for example (including a $2m Rockefeller chapel in 1920 money) or, with the powerful assistance of Lord Rootes, the University of Warwick, or which provided a £7m. grant to Balliol from its alumni (it is said that 70 per cent of the alumni contributed) in its 700th Birthday Appeal. The University of the West Indies has to depend on Government contributions, and if Dr. Corry could reiterate over and over again that universities in Canada, in depending on government funds, had "joined the scramble at the public trough" with "other ravenous feeders there: health, welfare, highways, and so on,, rousing envy irritation and opposition", (13) the dilemma is still more critical for West Indian Governments with their limited financial resources, endemic unemployment especially among the youth, and rising populations.

The university population explosion has already reached the Caribbean. For example in Puerto Rico total university enrolment increased from 4[illegible],216 in 1965-1966 to 80,395 in 1972-1973. At the University of the West Indies the enrolment increased from 2,187 in 1963-1964 to 5,678 in 1971-1972.

Two planning estimates for the current decade are available. For Puerto Rico the estimated cost of increased physical facilities varies from $61m at the lowest to $108m at the highest for the year 1975, and from $156m at the lowest to $340m at the highest for the year 1980.(14) For the University of the West Indies, which by governmental arrangement operates on triennial estimates and which obviously cannot command the resources or methods of financing available to the Puerto Rican institutions, the planning projected last year for the current triennium envisaged an increase of 1,570 students, or a little more than one-quarter of the enrolment in 1972 at a capital cost reaching $47m in 1975.(15)

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

These are the basic considerations which Caribbean Governments will have to face up to with respect to the future of their University:

1. The Level of Entry....At the moment of writing, it is difficult to envisage any situation in which, with the democratisation of secondary education and the steady improvement in quality that is certain to take place, at least some of the Governments would not continue to resist any tendency towards the lowering of entry requirements.

2. With expanding secondary education, both in quantity and in quality, can some additional form of post-secondary education be devised to take care of the larger number? One example would be the Junior College affiliated to the University, but financed by individual governments and utilizing University teachers as far as possible.

3. Would the above proposal be the answer to the enormous present wastage at secondary school level?_____

4. Would the Caribbean Examinations Council, brought into being after several years of argument among the Governments succeed in producing a superior, and publicly accepted, test of aptitude as a substitute for GCE?

5. Can a University, whose faculty and students talk glibly about "involvement" and "relevance" and "responsibility to the community" continue to operate on a philosophy imposed by a British Commission a quarter of a century ago anticipating large numbers of expatriate staff in a colonial university? For example, a teaching load of twelve hours a week — a contributing Government would collapse if that was the responsibility of its senior civil servants. As another example, a staff-student ratio imitating the British, as follows: (16)

	U.W.I.		British ratio (U.G.C.
	1971-2	Targets 1974-5	1966-7
Arts and Social Science	13.2	12.7	11.3
Education	11.9	9.3	13.4
Science	10.8	11.2	10.5
Agriculture	5.4	7.3	8.2
Engineering	10.3	10.2	11.0
Medicine, Pre-clinical	10.1	8.4	8.1
Clinical	8.7	8.4	7.1

As a third example, there is the cost per place, again taking the United Kingdom as the frame of reference for the Caribbean. The following picture, in Jamaica dollars, emerges in respect of the University of the West Indies claim forgreater governments subventions: (17)

	1971-2	1966-7	1974-5 (projected)	
	U.W.I.	U.K.	U.W.I.	U.K.
Natural Sciences	1,434	1,589	1,710	1,907
Arts and Social	1,141	1,218	1,399	1,462
Sciences	1,320	1,254	1,795	1,505
Education	1,861	2,106	2,117	2,539
Medicine, Pre-clinicals	1,234	2,184	3,756	2,621
Clinicals				
Engineering	1,635	1,626	1,911	1,951
Agriculture	2,711	1,782	2,561	2,078
Law	1.591	1,218	1,625	1,462

As a further example, there are the staff perquisites — housing allowance, children's allowance, incentive housing plans.

6. Can the University, following overseas patterns, afford to think in terms of expanding graduate facilities when more and more potential undergraduates are knocking at the door? The graduate emphasis is being more and more criticised overseas by undergraduates (the neglect of undergraduate teaching for graduate students is identified as one major cause of student dissent); and by the public generally (e.g. *Time* of April 2, 1973, in an

article entitled "The Ph.D. Glut", stresses the 32,000 U.S., doctorates in 1972, for many of whom there are no jobs, whose "overall quality has declined" — and, we might add, exposing undergraduates to more of the poor junior teachers about whom they complain in so many countries.)

To the extent that the younger student, immediately after high school graduation, continues to be enrolled, the Governments contributing to the University of the West Indies are almost certain to pay attention in future years to emphasising the relationship between study and work — not in the sense of the American student working at a job after university hours, on weekends and in vacations to earn money to finance his studies, but in the direct association of the university studies with some form of community activity and responsibility during the period of study itself — possibly as a fourth year. They will have before them two Third World examples — Castro's Cuba and Nyerere's Tanzania.

Castro, in his attempt to break down Caribbean elitist tendencies among university students, emphasises the close relationship between study and work and compels his university students to spend, at some cost to their study requirements, a part of their time in voluntary work cutting sugar cane or eliminating illiteracy. This is particularly important where there is more than a suspicion that at student level the modern cliche "involvement" is more honoured in the breach than the observance; one recalls the student confrontation in Tanzania with Nyerere in 1966, before the Arusha Declaration, when students supported by the State bluntly refused to accept the State's prescription for National Service, and Nyerere personally had to deal most severely with the ringleaders, rusticating some and expelling others.

They could also consider the recommendation recently made in respect of one of Venezuela's newest universities, Oriente, established in 1959 in the most underdeveloped section of the country and drawing particularly on students from working class and lower middle class families. It is to the effect that, as an aid to development of the region, the

Tabla 2

	Total	Technology (Eng. Arch.)	Education	Medicine	Agriculture (Vet. Science)	Natural Sciences	Economics	Soci l Sciences	Humanities	Law	Remarks
Havana (1972-3)	28,282	7,115	4,979	6,008	2,008	3,352	1,749		3,071		
Oriente (1973-4)	5,548	1,573	1,191	1,632	519	280	141		212		
Las Villas (1972-3)	2,988	970	844	437	369	273	53		42		
Santo Domingo (1970-1)	23,028	2,971	698	4,028	765	440	-2,601-		1,395	260	
Madre y Maestra (1970-1)	2,153	752	359			86*	523**			147	*Incl. Humanities *Incl. Administration
East Central (1970-1)	602	33	25	137			65			26	*Incl. Pharmacy
Haiti (1972-3)	1,741		92	832*	59		332**			*	*Economic Science and Law; Also Ethnology 121; international studies 79.
University of the West Indies (1972-3)	5,678	360	166	844	180	1,544		-2.400-		183*	*Recently started
Guyana (1972-3)	1,309	243	86			265	345	364 (Arts)			
University of Puerto Rico (1972-3)	35,492	3,551	5,517	411	450	3.807	2,869	3,779		559	Business Administration 3,839 Dentristy 169; Pharmacy 729

University should work out "internship experiences with regional planning offices, community development organizations, and literary and public health campaigns (which) could be included in the curriculum as an integral component of degree programmes." (18)

Most of all, the Caribbean Governments in the future are certain to pay greater attention to the university curriculum in relation to their manpower needs and to their nationalist perspectives. The situation in respect of major fields of study in the Caribbean Universities is brought out in the following Table:(19)

Very valuable conclusions can be drawn from the above Table, as follows:

1. Cuba is in the lead in the Caribbean in respect of the relevance of the university to Caribbean needs and conditions. This is particularly the case in so far as technological and agricultural emphases are concerned, while its universities pay considerable attention to education, medicine and natural sciences. If one compares Oriente with the University of the West Indies, where the enrolment is approximately the same, the Table shows four students at Oriente in technology to every one at the University of the West Indies, seven to every one in education, two to one in medicine, three to one in agriculture, while in arts and science for every student at Oriente, there are thirteen at the University of the West Indies. The University of the West Indies is superior only in the natural science, where the ratio is more than five to one in its favour.

The position in the University of the West Indies is even worse than the Table indicates. Between 1963 and 1971, with an increase in total enrolment of 130 per cent, the increase in social sciences was 267 per cent and in arts and general studies 77 per cent, as compared with III per cent for medicine and 81 per cent for agriculture. If the increase registered in engineering was 200 per cent., the fact of the matter is that in 1963 there were 114 engineering registrations as compared with 216 for social

sciences and 840 for arts general studies, whilst in 1971 the number of registrations was 343 in engineering, 794 in social sciences, and 1,484 in arts and general studies. New admissions into first-year medicine, engineering and agriculture were 10 per cent of all admissions to first degree courses in 1963 and less than 20 per cent in 1970 — the figures being 120 out of 1,052 in 1963 and 262 out of 1.421 in 1970.(20)

2. The University of Puerto Rico at Rio Piedras is also in a commanding position in its emphasis on technology, education, business administration and natural sciences. The emphasis on social science and humanities — when combined, nearly 20 per cent of the enrolment — seems a a little strange. The underrepresentation of agriculture emphasises the increasing urbanization of the country, where 40 per cent of the 2.7 million population are concentrated in the metropolitan area of the capital. The American supermarket pattern is reflected in the fact that the university now has a School of Social Work, an Institute of Tropical Meteorology, a School of Public Administration, a School of Dentistry. A College of Business Administration, a School of Architecture, a graduate programme in psychology, a graduate School in Public Communications, and present plans include emphasis on the study of urbanization, a computer centre, action programme in respect of drug addiction (not only marijuana but also heroin), intensification of criminological research and stimulation of penal reform, consumer education, and training of community recreation workers. (21)

3. The Haitian statistics, with the prominence of ethnology and international studies as compared with the underrepresentation of agriculture, education and technology, must be seen in the general context of economic underdevelopment. The per capita gross domestic product in 1970 was $72; less than one-fifth of the population is literate; less than one in four of the population 5-14 years of age attends primary school; life expectancy, infant mortality rate, ratio of hospital beds and doctors to

population, calorie intake, index of agricultural productivity, output of electric power, in all these fields Haiti ranks lowest among the Latin American republics.(22)

BRAIN DRAIN

This brings us therefore to the question of the brain drain. Castro, who allowed the bourgeois professors and technicians that he inherited to emigrate, has been particularly stern on this question of the brain drain of the young replacements he is now training to produce his new "socialist man". As he once bluntly put it: "to train a university-educated technician costs thousands upon thousands of pesos ... should we train technicians who are later going to work in the United States? I don't believe that's right".(23)

The critical situation can be seen in the realities facing two Caribbean areas. First, Haiti. Haitian professionals can be found everywhere in Africa — judges, teachers, engineers, doctors, even in the foreign service (e.g. Guinea) or in the official establishment and the security forces (Congo). A mission from the Congo sought to secure teachers in Haiti; half the graduating class at the teachers training school at the University of Haiti applied. Only three of 214 medical graduates in the past decade remained in Haiti. There are more Haitian doctors in Canada than in Haiti. (24)

The second area is Trinidad and Tobago. From the Commonwealth Caribbean as a whole, between 1962 and 1967, the United States of America received 1,127 engineers, 368 natural scientists, 1,184 physicians, and 1,733 nurses; of the nurses 269 were supplied by Trinidad and Tobago.(25) Of the 425 doctors who graduated from the University of the West Indies between 1954 and 1968, 133 — three out of 10 — emigrates: 75 to Canada, 37 to the United States of America, 18 to other countries. (26) For the year 1968 to 1971, professional emigration from Trinidad and Tobago has been as follows: architects, engineers and surveyors, 80 to the United States of America, 30 to Canada; nurses and midwives, 450 to United States of America, 70 to Canada; teachers. 180

to United States of America, 270 to Canada; draughtsmen and science and engineering technicians, 80 to United States of America, 50 to Canada; administrative, executive and managerial workers, 50 to United States of America, 50 to Canada; other professional, technical annd related workers, 90 to United States of America to Canada. (27)

DISSENT

This brings us now to the question of university dissent, involving both staff and students. At both levels relations between governments and the universities are involved.

"Involvement" has become one of the fashionable university cliches. At the level of the faculty, it involves more or less a direct incursion into politics. A familiar phenomenon in Italy is the absenteeism of professors from their university clases assisting in Rome in the formation or destruction of the endless coalition cabinets arising from the proportional representation system. In pre-Castro Cuba many professors were directly involved in politics and at least two became Presidents of the Republic. At the University of the West Indies political parties have emerged on the campus in open opposition to governments, and faculty members are involved in the organization of trade unions in which they hold office. Currently in Puerto Rico a critical situation has emerged between the Chancellor, the nominee of one political party, and the Supreme Council on which the alternative party, rejected in a recent election, had nominated a certain number of members. Again, at the University of the West Indies, newspapers, essentially political, are produced, one of them in particular being notorious for its scurrility.

Caribbean Governments have already begun to challenge this conception of academic freedom; it is obvious that no such claims could be advanced in Castro's Cuba. At a recent Heads of Government meeting of the Commonwealth Caribbean, many of the author's colleagues denounced the Social Science Faculty of the University of the West Indies, and more than one suggestion was made that it should be closed down: the author, who was Chairman of the meeting,

was compelled, as a product himself of a Social Science Faculty, to oppose these proposals and indicate that he could not agree to throwing out the baby with the bath water. The recent Court decision upholding the dismissal at the London School of Economics of a faculty member who incited students to break down the gates, on the ground that such action was not consistent with academic freedom, would seem to point a road to the future that many Governments, including Caribbean Governments, are likely to follow.

The most obvious step would seem to be a Commission of Enquiry to delimit academic freedom. More than one Caribbean Government has already found it necessary to deny work permits to West Indians who are non-nationals on the ground that they compromise their university responsibilities and abuse their academic freedom by indulging in activities inimical to national security. By the same token, Caribbean Governments, both on grounds of national security and of their obligations to other States, have been forced to scrutinise more closely expatriates selected by the University for appointment.

Student dissent has since 1964 become a familiar pattern in almost all countries, with 1968 as the year of student revolution. Mathew Arnold's scholar gypsy of 100 years ago has become the itinerant student agitator of the last decade.

Major world problems have been one of the principal factors in student revolt — Viet Nam in the United States, nuclear disarmament in the United Kingdom, Algeria, in France the American occupation in Japan. But whilst opposing war, nuclear holocaust, and the draft, students have been rebelling in connection with more personel domestic grievances — for "participatory democracy" in relation to vital areas of university life affecting students, especially curriculum, library, discipline of students, and going so far as student participation in the evaluation of teaching and appointment of staff.

In respect of some of the students, conventionally regarded as a minority, there is a highly political element in the situation which seeks to use the university as a base from which to confront the entire society and reorganise it in their

own image and likeness, whatever that may be. This has been particularly the case with students in Mexico and Venezuela, with students in Puerto Rico opposing the ROTC programme for training of officers(28) and with students in the University of Havana before Castro, who treated the university as a virtual fortress for the storing of arms and ammunition and for the concoction of plans aimed at the overthrow of the Government.(29)

Student power is nothing new in the history of the university. The 14th century university of Bologna in Italy was organised, run and managed by students who appointed their Rector, disciplined their professors, and imposed regulations against the introduction of women into the dormitory; students disciplining of their professors was probably harsher than any modern disciplining of students by their professors. The Rector in Scottish universities was elected by the students; no appointment made by professors could have been as bad as the election by the students of Edinburgh as their Rector of Thomas Carlyle, the notorious neo-fascist, opponent of democracy and universal suffrage, regimenter of the working classes, vicious hater of black people. Even at the older British universities of Oxford and Cambridge, students have from time to time manifested their power-whether at Oxford by refusing to vote for King and Country, or, at a later date, refusing to allow the Foreign Secretary to speak, or the vicious demonstration at Cambridge against the admission of women to higher degrees.

But there is no apparent reason why students should not have a major say in their own discipline, or in the organisation of the library or cafeteria which they use, or in co-operating in the improvement of teaching especially at undergraduate level. Vast changes would result, not altogether bad, if students participated in the evaluation of their teachers; the effect would be felt immediately in Italy in the field of professional absenteeism, which has become so pronounced that a law is being toyed with by the uncertain proportional representation cabinets to require a professor to spend a prescribed number of hours per week in contact with his students. There is also every reason to encourage student

involvement in community problems, subject always to their effective performance of their primary responsibility, which is study.

The limited number of studies analysing student revolt has so far brought out the following points:

(a) It is only a minority, seldom exceeding 5 per cent who have actively participated in protests.

(b) Organized protest in America in 1967-1968 indicated that, for the institutions involved, 38 per cent were against the Viet Nam War, 29 per cent concerned civil rights, 25 per cent the draft, 25 per cent military recruitment, 34 per cent living group regulations, 27 per cent student participation in campus policy-making, and 15 per cent curriculum inflexibility.

(c) American student activities are usually those with above-average grades and incomes (80 per cent of the students at Berkeley came from families earning more than $8,000 annually).

(d) The boycott and sit-in at the London School of Economics in 1967 showed that a high proportion of the activists were studying sociology (it is reported that 75 per cent of the protesters at American universities are reading Social Science).

(e) The London School of Economics disturbances of 1967 showed a lower proportion of activist among graduate students than among undergraduate, with a tendency for the undergraduate proportion to fall among third-year students.(30)

However, the Venezuelan study referred to above, of Oriente University, suggest that "the higher the prestige of a field, the higher is the level of political participation and interest". Medical students — perhaps conforming to the Latin American tradition — as well as those in engineering are more

activist than students in sociology, biology and animal husbandry.(31)

With the "international identity" claimed by university students, and the pronounced tendency in the Caribbean to imitate the metropolitan countries, the unrest in the Caribbean can be expected to develop, possibly as the wave recedes in metropolitan countries - as Driver puts it "staging a carbon-copy sit-in along a carbon-copy corridor". (32) Both the Berkeley demonstrations of 1970 and the CSD marches in Britain seemed to suggest that the infection is spreading more to children as opposed to undergraduates. Governments, as well as adult electorates, are not likely to look kindly on such developments among the privileged classes where, in the international context, universities draw only six per cent of their enrolment from working class families in Germany and under 4 per cent from farm families, in Italy effectively discriminate against the under-developed South, and in Japan still subordinate the education of women in accordance with the Japanese "code of morals" that "the minds of women generally are as dark as the night".

There remains the larger question, which dominates universities the world over today, of making university studies more "relevant" to the students.

CARIBBEAN STUDIES

The first and most important requirement in this field for the Caribbean is the development of Caribbean Studies. This would be an absolute prerequisite to the integration of the Caribbean area which has been foreshadowed above as one of the primary needs for the rest of the century. The sad fact is that, with the unprecedented attention paid to the Caribbean area in the past 15 years, most of the work has come from outside sources, principally the United States and Britain. A surprisingly insignificant amount of work has so far been done on the Asian populations of the Caribbean—basically the Indians in Guyana, Surinam and Trinidad, but also the

Chinese in Cuba, Guyana and Trinidad. Very little has been done on the Indonesian element in Surinam and the maroons of Jamaica, as well as on the Amerindians of the Guyanas. Greater emphasis on Caribbean Studies will include not only history and the social sciences but the continuation of agricultural research initiated at the former Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad which is now the Faculty of Agriculture of the University of the West Indies, as well as in Cuba with its new Institute of Economics at the University of Havana, the emphasis on political science, and the quite important work in agriculture and livestock research which has already begun.

One particular aspect of this new emphasis on Caribbean Studies requires special mention. That is in the field of literature. The Commonwealth Caribbean behaves as if Caribbean literature is embraced only by novelists they have produced (33) It is true that, thanks largely to publishing houses in England, some important names have appeared — Naipaul, Lamming, Selvon, Salkey, Mittelholzer, James (with particular reference to his superlative book on cricket. *Beyond a Bondary);* some attention has been paid to Claude McKay with his Jamaica origins in the United States.

But this excludes Cuban literature, Haitian literature, Puerto Rican literature, and above all the literature of the French Caribbean Departments. The outstanding name in the history of Caribbean literature is that of Aime Cesaire of Martinique, Deputy in the French Parliament in Paris, of whom it has been said that he handles the French language better than any living Frenchman. Cesaire, with Leon Damas of Guyana (who has a very valuable anthology of black poetry) and President Senghour of Senegal, is one of the original and principal exponents of the concept of *Negritude*. There is no more decisive document in the humanities in the Caribbean than Cesaire's "Cahier d'un retour au pays natal", whilst his study on Toussaint L'Ouverture in the field of history, and his pamphlet, *Discourse on Colonialism*, in the field of politics, constitute him one of the greatest literary figures that the Caribbean has ever produced.

The Cuban poets and novelists especially Nicolas Guillen and Regino Pedroso (of Chinese ancestry) cannot possibly be excluded in any consideration of the Caribbean humanities. Nor can the Haitian poets and novelists especially Jacques Roumain and Jean Brierre; on the social side, the work of Price Mars, sociologist, *Ainsi parla l'oncle* — a former President of the Societe Africaine de Culture — is also decisive. In Puerto Rico, the poet Luis Pales Matos has his place in Caribbean Letters. All this will involve much more serious emphasis on the three basic languages of the Caribbean, English, French and Spanish.

Caribbean Studies would necessarily emphasise the whole question of race relations, defined as relation between all ethnic groups, with the Western Hemisphere involving contacts between European, Africans, Asians and Amerindians. Emphasis would be placed on the Caribbean family, and the Caribbean economic system as it has envolved and is evolving. A note of warning, however, is here appropriate.

Among the most militant of the student activist in the past decade have been the blacks of America, whose disabilities and concerns go much beyond the international malaise and the particular grievances of white students. They have brought to the front the question, in relation to the curriculum, of black studies, as programmes more relevant to black experience in the ghetto. This student criticism of curricula is not limited to black American students. The Italian university allows the student a large freedom of choice in his courses on the ground that he should be free to select any course in accordance with his cultural and professional needs. It has been pointed out that on this basis an engineering student could leave out hydraulics and a medical student anatomy, and instead opt for sociology and fine arts.

But it is in America that the system of student electives has made greatest headway, to the point where some 12,500 different courses are offered at Cornell, and even in the early '20s the University of Chicago was described, after one of its principal architects, as Harper's Bazaar. It is usual to speak of Berkeley as typical of the American supermarket pattern in

university education. The black studies programmes now being developed on many American campuses are in line with this general tradition.

More and more criticisms, from both black and white scholars, are being made of these programmes. As a protest against white racism in both the selection and content of university education in the 20th century. But as John Blassingame, Assistant Editor of the Booker T. Washington Papers, has protested, it appears difficult to justify, on intellectual grounds, such courses in black studies programmes as "the sociology of black sport", "relevant recreation in the ghetto", "the selection and preparation of soul food", and even possibly "the black family in the rural environment". Another critic, Andrew F. Brimmer, in pointing to belated steps to assist black families to catch up in terms of family income with white families which have appeared in the last decade, questions the advisability of so segregating black studies as in the long run to deny blacks the opportunity to assume a more meaningful and superior position in the American economy as a whole.

Many have stressed the danger that these black studies programmes could be, on the one hand, "deliberately organized ill-conceived programmes (by predominantly white schools) because they are intended solely for Negro Students", whilst, on the other hand, when supported by white intellectuals, they "are really supporting a recrudescence of separate but equal' facilities", and introducing apartheid, in terms of segregated halls and residences on white campuses; in between they involve a serious disruption of black colleges by raids on faculty and students, whilst exposing the black students on white campuses in their black studies programmes to poorly prepared teachers who are for the most part black and who lack the required standards.(34)

Already the black revolt in America has had its influence on the Caribbean (dashikis, Afro hair-dos, soul music, cliches), especially with the West Indian origins of such leaders of the American Black protest as Marcus Garvey from Jamaica, Stokeley Carmichael born in Trinidad, and Roy

Inniss born in the United States Virgin Islands. In so far as the black protest movement, in the context of the large number of independent African States, rescues Africa from the intellectual approbrium and disdain to which it has been consigned by the white developed countries and their intellectuals, and in so far as the black protest movement introduces a new element into the world racial situation of conscious pride in blackness and the African cultural heritage, then the movement has come to stay and will make an enormous intellectual contribution to the world by its correction of historical distortion and repudiation of the great lie of history, that Africa had no history before the contact with Europe in the slave trade period.

To the extent that this movement will provide an opportunity for black scholars and researchers to write and publish without the conventional prejudices to which many are subjected by white publishing houses, then this is a great step forward in the history of academic freedom as it relates to the prosecution of research. To the extent that the current American emphasis on black studies will encourage further research in the Caribbean on black influences — one thinks of the work of Fernando Ortiz, a white man in pre Castro Cuba, on African influences on the Spanish spoken in Cuba and in the Music of Cuba—, then this should be an encouragement to the researcher in Caribbean Universities who, outside of a limited amount of work in Puerto Rico, Jamaica and Trinidad, has not done much intellectually to explore the African heritage in the Caribbean.

On this point, however, one cannot be too sure. To a group of Afro-American students visiting Cuba in 1963 and their comments that school text books had no reference to Africa and its peoples in a country with a large population of African descent, Che Guevara replied as follows: "African history does not exist...I see no more purpose in black people studying African history in Cuba than in my children studying Argentina.....Black people in Cuba need to study Marxist — Leninism, not African history".(35)

The second emphasis for the Caribbean Universities for the future is a matter of concern to universities all over the

world, which are becoming more and more conscious about what Edgar Faure, formerly a Minister of Education in France, described as "Balkanising higher education" four years ago. The problem, as Faure saw it, was "une somme monstreuse de connaissances disparates" — a monstrous sum of specialised knowledge —, with its tendency, as he put it, to "de-alienate man". This has been the background to all sorts of experiments in inter-disciplinary contacts and area studies — PPE at Oxford (going for several years), music with mathematics, medicine with sociology and psychology,, physics and philosophy at Oxford, at Manchester liberal studies in science linking physics, chemistry, mathematics and engineering with anthropology, sociology and economics, and strangest of all at Strasbourg, a dental school linked with Jewish sociology. Harvard led the way more than a quarter of a century ago with emphasis on a general education, leading to first-year survey courses in social science, humanities and natural science, which has been adopted in many universities including the University of the West Indies.

It would appear, at least from the student disturbances, that this experimentation has so far not succeeded in achieving a synthesis of knowledge, which each scientific and technological advance makes more difficult. The Universities in the Caribbean have therefore an opportunity to experiment in this field and to make an enduring contribution to university education the world over. This would be in some areas where — perhaps influenced by Leroi Jones with his dismissal of Shakespeare as irrelevant because of his use of "Thee" and "thou" — one has heard young secondary school students in Trinidad at a national forum criticising the importation of pianos and violins and advocating exclusive emphasis on the steelband instrument.

A new line of development might be to take a number of key themes and issues which are of concern to students, relevant to use the modern jargon, and of deep abiding personal interest, and explore these in their historical, interdisciplinary and international context. A few suggestions might serve to illustrate the basic proposal.

One such major field of student concern, very relevant to the modern world, would be the subject of women's liberation or, to be more blunt, sex. Concern of students with sex is now an accepted fact; even Berkeley's President and California's Board of Regents would probably not react today as they did in 1956 to the famous panty raid on a sorority which is reported to have netted 1,006 panties for which appropiate compensation was paid (with the spread of women's liberation and the form it is supposed to take, the number might be much less in a similar raid in 1973), though one is a little disturbed at the reaction of the City Council in withdrawing its subvention from the University of Keele because some male students stripped in a heatwave. A discussion of women's liberation in its historical and international context would go right down from Aristotle and the Greek society, as well as other early non-Western societies, to the contemporary period, taking the study through relevant text in the humanities — for example, Ovid, St. Augustine, Chaucer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goldsmith and T.S. Eliot — right down to contemporary pornography and the illustrated report to President Nixon of the Commission on Pornography and Obscenity.

Another subject of great concern to students and very suitable for elaboration and presentation in its historical and international context is religion, New Testament studies, history of Indian religions. The scope here proposed is even more comprehensive. It would include all religions, not only Christian, Hindu and Islam, but also African — and Caribbean variants of African religion as in Haiti. The subject would take the student through, for example, the power of the Roman Catholic Church in the medieval period — including economic power and its attitude to science and academic freedom —, the Protestant Reformation emphasising religion and the rise of capitalism, Volta and the Enlightenment, the doctrine of evolution, the spread of atheism, right down to the contemporary revolt against Papal authority on the pill, abortion and the celibacy of the clergy.

As a third theme, special attention could be paid to the subject of the university and society, showing the relationship in different countries and in various periods, and correcting so

many of the misconceptions of so many students about the irrelevance of the modern university.

Another useful theme could be work and leisure, which would involve not only the system of slavery, pre-classical and modern, including slavery in Africa itself, semi-free or free agricultural labour, factory labour including the labour of women and children in the 19th century, but also the development of science and technology in relation to the organisation of work and the increase of production; and the development of mass sports, especially football.

Relevant themes could easily be expanded - the rise of trade unions and working class organisations, the development of forms of governments and the theories associated with them (paying particular attention to non-Western societies), man and his world, emphasising the development of science in all fields, and so on.

All this will call for an intercourse and a dialogue between Caribbean Universities and their competent authorities such as does not exist today. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago has announced its intention to establish a Gallery of Caribbean Emancipators and to sponsor a Caribbean Youth Expression bringing the young people together in sport, art, culture, handicraft, dialogue. The Caribbean Universities in the year 2000 would be merely items in the islands budgets of the next quarter of a century, mere excrescences on the body of universities in affluent countries, unless they take as their goal, consciously and deliberately, the production of citizens of an area which is *sui generis*.

1. For this paper the author has used:

   (a) Data supplied by Consul General for Trinidad and Tobago in the Dominican Republic.

   (b) Data supplied by Cuban Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago.

   (c) Council on Higher Education, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, *Higher Education Facilities, Comprehensive Planning Study*, 1971 *Report*, June 1972, pp. 22-23.

   (d) Data supplied on Haiti by Trinidad and Tobago Ambassador to Haiti.

   (e) University of the West Indies, *Memorandum on Estimates of Needs for* 1972-1975, January 1972, p. 32.

   (f) College of the Virgin Islands, Office of the President, "A Fact Sheet for Interested Potential Faculty Members", April, 1973.

   (g) University of Guyana, *Statement of Development Policy for the Triennium* 1972-73 — 1974-75, July 1972.

   (h) Data supplied by the Netherlands Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago.

   (i) Data supplied by the French Ambassador to Trinidad and Tobago.

2. See Sir Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African. A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education, London, 1966.*

3. *H. Wells, The Modernisation of Puerto Rico. A Political Study of Changing Values and Institutions, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971, pp. 89-90.*

4. *The Growth and Expansion of the University of Puerto Rico, a Brief Report*, Rio Piedras Campus, 1972. See also Wells, *op. cit.*

5. See note 1 (f) above.

6. From a report in preparation by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago on the University of the West Indies.

7. See note 1 (g) above.

8. Ashby, *op. cit.* See also S.R. Dongerkery, *University Autonomy in India*, Bombay, 1967.

9. Ashby, *op. cit.*

10. J.A. Corry, *Farewell the Ivory Tower. Universities in Transition*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1970, p. 34.

11. *The University, Society and Government,* The Report of the Comission on the Relations between Universities and Governments, University of Ottawa Press, Ottawa 1970, pp. 116 — 118.

12. J. Suchlicki, *University Students and Revolution in Cuba,* 1920-1968, University of Miami Press, Coral Gables, Florida, 1969, pp. 104 — 112.

13. *Corry, op. cit.,* p. 103.

14. See note 1 (c) above, p. 16.

15. See note 1 (e) above, pp. 52 — 53.

16. University of the West Indies, *Memorandum on Estimates of Needs for* 1972 — 1975, pp. 31 — 32.

17. *Ibid,* p. 54.

18. R.F. Arnove, *Student Alienation: A Venezuelan Study,* New York, 1971, p. 145.

19. See note I above.

20. University of the West Indies, *Vice-Chancellor's Report to Council,* 1972, pp 2—3

21. See note 4 above.

22. O.E. Moore, *Haiti, Its Stagnant Society and Shackled Economy,* New York, 1972; Inter-American Development Bank, *Socio-Economic Progress in Latin America, Annual Report,* 1971, Washington, D.C., pp. 226, 232—233.

23. Suchlicki, *op. cit. p.* 126.

24. B. Diederich and A. Burt, *Papa Doc: Haiti and Its Dictator, London,* 1969, pp. 381—382.

25. G. Henderson, *Emigration of Highly Skilled Manpower from the Developing Countries,* Unitar Report No. 3, New York, 1970, pp. 167,58.

26. University of the West Indies, "The Number of Doctors needed in the Commonwealth Caribbean," March 23, 1972, p. 2.

27. Central Statistical Office, Trinidad and Tobago, *International Travel Statistics.*

28. See D. Rodriguez Graciani, *Rebelion o Protesta. La Lucha Estudiantil en Puerto Rico*, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, 1972. On Mexico, see J.B. Sierra, *Conversaciones con Gaston Garcia Cantu Mexico City*, 1972; Dr. Sierra was Rector of the University from 1966-1970 and therefore had to cope with the student protest of 1968.

29. Suchlicki, *op. cit.*

30. T. Blackstone, K. Gales, R. Hadley, W. Lewis, *Students in Conflict, L.S.E. in* 1967, London, 1970, pp. 234 – 238. See also H. Kidd, *The Trouble at L.S.E. 1966–1967*, Oxford University Press, 1969.

31. Arnove, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

32. Driver, The Exploding University, London 1971, p. 326.

33. See, for example, K Ramchand, *The West Indian Novel and* its *Background*, London, 1970. This, however, is not true of G.R. Coulthard, *Race and Colour in Caribbean Literature*, Oxford University Press, 1962.

34. See, especially, *The American Scholar*, Autumn 1969, "Revolution on the Campus". Blassingame's article, Black Studies: An Intellectual Crisis", is on pp. 548–561, and Brimmers's "The Black Revolution and the Economic Future of Negroes in the United States", on pp. 629–643. See also *Black Studies in the University: A Symposium* (held at Yale in 1968), Yale University Press, New Haven,1969; T. Draper, *The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism*, London, 1970, Chapter 10; Driver, *op. cit.* pp. 278–280.

35. Carlos Moore, "Cuba: The Untold Story", *Presence Africaine*, Vol. 24, No. 52, 1964. pp. 217–218.